

Appendix

The Crisis of the "Golden Sixties"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 17, 1960

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an address I delivered before the 21st general convention of the System Federation No. 41 of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway on Wednesday, June 15, 1960, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CRISIS OF THE "GOLDEN SIXTIES"

I appreciate the honor of being with you here this morning. I appreciate the opportunity, too, of being able to discuss with you some of the major issues facing America today.

You undoubtedly remember that on January 1 of this year the newspapers were full of predictions that we were entering what they called the "golden sixties"—that this decade was one of glorious promise for the people of the United States. Less than 6 months have passed. But I wonder how many Americans are finding things so golden right now. Our position in world affairs is more precarious and more dangerous than it has been since the days of Korea. Here at home the problems of unemployment, the welfare of our aged, the education of our children, and other problems equally pressing, are going unsolved.

You have a right—and a duty—to ask why this is so. The answer is that we have a Government in Washington that, in the down-to-earth phrase coined nearly five centuries ago, is following a penny wise pound foolish approach to America's problems. To save a dollar today it is sacrificing America's promise for the future. It is sacrificing our most important resource—the strength and well-being of our people.

As a Senator, and as a member of the Democratic Party, I am disturbed by this. I can assure you that I and many of my colleagues on Capitol Hill are trying hard to do something about it. As you know, constructive action has been difficult because of the ever-present threat of—and the use of—the Presidential veto.

This is a time of crisis for America, both at home and abroad. The issue is not just how to get a chicken in every pot, but how we are going to win the struggle for survival.

There can be no question, the peace issue is predominant. No sane man, regardless of party, advocates the horrors of war. But peace cannot be secured through wishful thinking.

Last December the Democratic Advisory Committee issued its own "State of the Union" message for 1960, in which it observed: "The legitimate debate is not over ends but means—the policies which will produce the conditions most likely to secure the just and lasting peace which all Amer-

icans seek. The record of the Republican administration in foreign policy reveals erratic policy switches, which have sadly damaged America's strength and prestige."

"Our foreign policy," the message continued, "should be far more than slogans, speeches and reassurances. Our foreign policy is basically a matter of our national strength, our national effort and our national will and ideals of human justice."

The conduct of our foreign policy is constitutionally vested in the hands of the executive branch of Government. There is little Congress can do to forestall the blunders. We can, however, urge, investigate and otherwise endeavor to persuade the President to conduct a responsible foreign policy.

I believe the leadership of my party is to be commended for its own responsible attitude and actions on foreign policy questions. It has urged the administration not to rely only on good-will trips, summit conferences and dollars to pave the road to peace. All of these things have their place. But, singly or collectively, they are not a substitute for a well-thought-out, well-executed foreign policy.

Whether we like it or not, the state of our defenses is a basic consideration in determining our position in the world today. Soviet strides in missiles and their successes with space satellites and moon shots have convinced nearly everyone that we should take a close look into how our defense money is being spent—everyone, that is, except the administration. But the Democrats in Washington are asking some searching questions, and the answers have not always been so satisfactory. It is, in fact, because of Democratic action in Congress that our defense posture is as good as it is.

I believe with Mr. Eisenhower that God is on the side of right. But I also believe that God helps those who help themselves. We cannot afford to let our military forces deteriorate while Mr. Khrushchev gloats. We need strength to match strength.

Even on the domestic front we are lagging behind. Look at education. The experts are warning that our children are not getting an education they will some day need to lead our country in its competition with the Russians. There are not enough classrooms. Teachers are underpaid. In higher education, we shall need in the next 10 years a number of new buildings equal to the total number built in the last 200 years. If we are going to meet these needs, the Federal Government must act. Many of us in Congress have long waged a vigorous battle for appropriate legislation. Right now we are fighting, and fighting hard, to get through a bill to aid in school construction.

The administration has finally come around to sponsoring a proposal, too. But this proposal, calling for expenditures carried out over a long period of years instead of meeting costs now, would in the long run be unnecessarily expensive and would still fall to meet the need. It is another example of the penny wise pound foolish attitude which is sapping the strength of our country.

A Presidential veto may be in the offing. But short of that, I promise you we are going to have this school issue resolved before Congress adjourns. We need more and better schools for our children—and we are going to have them.

One of the most serious problems confronting this country is that of creeping

unemployment. I have heard a great deal from administration spokesmen about the dangers of creeping inflation. I, for one, certainly do not minimize the problems caused by the rising cost of living. But we rarely hear a word from the administration about the problem caused by rising unemployment. According to the statisticians, 2 years have passed since the start of the recovery from the disastrous 1958 recession. But there are a lot of people around here who do not know that the recession is over, and the economists are already talking about the beginning of the next one.

The facts are blatantly clear, and no amount of hiding can minimize their impact. Unemployment is a growing problem. We have had three recessions since the end of World War II. After the first recession, unemployment dropped nationally to a 3 percent level; after the second recession unemployment remained at the 4 percent level. And now at least 5 percent of the working people of the Nation remain unemployed.

It is little consolation for the unemployed to know that we have reached a half-billion dollar economy. Certainly this is a great achievement, but it does not make hunger and suffering any easier to bear.

All kinds of excuses have been made for the persistence of unemployment. At first it was blamed on the steel strike. When the steel strike was over, the blame was placed on the snow and the rain. Now that summer is here and the snow has melted all we hear is the expression of hope that by and by it will all be better.

Meanwhile, the economy is operating way below capacity, the average duration of unemployment continues to rise, and the number of depressed areas is increasing. We have been warned by leading economists that if our rate of economic growth is not stepped up, we face the prospect of being outstripped by the Soviet Union.

And the administration refuses to do anything. Its only preoccupation seems to be to gather a budget surplus. But I say to you that inaction is the best way to get a budget deficit.

If this were a time for niceties, I would hesitate to say this. But we cannot afford the luxury of smiling pleasantries. I must say that the present administration reminds me of the old Bourbon king: "After me the deluge." Instead of offering a positive program to meet the needs of America, the administration is satisfied with the slogan of "one-third and one." As we have been reminded, this is all that is needed in order to sustain the vetoes of the positive program that the majority party is trying to enact in the present Congress.

Take, for example, the presidential veto stopping aid to depressed areas. To the administration this legislation, so vital to America and to my State of West Virginia, is a squandering of money. This was the excuse given in the veto message.

I find this incredible. The President can talk all day about the necessity of giving aid to underdeveloped and needy areas abroad. This will strengthen democracy, he says. Well, I say it is high time we started strengthening our own democracy here at home.

We have more than a hundred communities in the United States, some of the worst ones being in my own State, which are suffering from chronic and persistent unemployment. In some of these areas unemployment has reached depression proportions.

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There are no labor shortage areas anywhere within the United States where these unemployed can migrate and find jobs. Your neighbors can tell you this. The only solution, then, is to try to create additional jobs and bring them to these communities. This is what the depressed areas bill would have achieved. Its major aim was to establish credit funds at reasonable rates of interest to encourage expanding business to locate in depressed areas. The bill would have helped to improve the public facilities in these communities to make them more attractive to new industry. It would also have provided for the retraining of workers, and in some cases it would have paid workers who have exhausted unemployment insurance subsistence payments while they would be undergoing these periods of training.

This, it seems to me, is a constructive approach to some important economic problems, not a wasteful one. Nothing, in fact, could be more wasteful than losing the productivity of a good part of our working force. But the administration has spoken. And there are not enough votes to override the veto.

One major piece of legislation which we were able to get through during the last session of Congress was an amendment to the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts. The most important part of this legislation was that it increased retirement and survivor benefits in general by about 10 percent. This is a measure that is of enormous importance to the country and to my State of West Virginia. In 1958-1959 a total of more than \$1 billion in benefit payments was paid to people throughout the country. The amount for West Virginia was more than \$22 million. Because of this legislation, the amount for the future should be even greater.

But I know, and you know, that this does not solve the problems of the railroad employee. Total employment on American railroads has dropped sharply since World War II. Only 2 years have not seen a decline. In 1956, employment on class 1 railroads averaged just over 1 million; in 1957 it dropped to 985,000; in the recession year of 1958 it dropped further to 840,000. Railway employment declined throughout 1959, and averaged just 816,000 for the year. The November 1959 railway employment figure of 783,995 was the lowest monthly figure in this century.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association has backed a number of proposals which should help to relieve the crisis. One of these is the Passenger Train Service Act of 1960, which would require the railroads, as part of their public responsibility, "to provide reasonably frequent, safe, clean, and convenient passenger service" and to make every reasonable effort to serve the public adequately in their passenger train operations. This legislation, railroad labor believes, would not prevent the elimination of unneeded passenger services, but it would protect the public from the wholesale abandonment of passenger trains even though these trains are still needed to meet our country's transportation requirements.

Other bills of importance to railroad employees are the railroad accident reports bill, the railroad track motor car safety bill, and the railroad track and bridge safety inspection bill. These bills, and others, represent the responsible way in which the railroad employees are trying to improve railroad operation.

The railroad workers, the Democratic Party, and labor in general have joined forces in trying to get through a medical insurance program for the aged. We all know that the problem of how to finance medical care is a critical—almost impossible one—for most of our 16 million citizens age 65 and over. There has been a lot of delay in meeting the issues, but the Democratic leadership in the House and Senate is working hard to resolve them.

Time is running out, and I have not yet had the opportunity to discuss a lot of issues which our Democrats in Congress have been trying to solve. Let me mention some of them briefly.

There is a crying need for a realistic urban redevelopment and public facilities program. Congress enacted excellent legislation in these areas last year, but two vetoes forced the Congress to trim down the program and settle on one which is less adequate. The antipollution bill passed by Congress was also vetoed. Thus our cities continue to decay and our rivers and streams remain polluted.

A lot of us have been asking the administration to undertake studies which would help solve some basic economic problems. Automation, one of our greatest blessings and greatest curses, has created terrible problems in many areas. I myself have strongly urged the creation of a Coal Research and Development Commission, which would have opened new vistas for the use of our important coal resources. A bill which would have done this was vetoed last year.

This Congress is not yet over. If I have painted a black picture, I join you in hoping that it will be brightened before Congress adjourns. I can assure you that I and my colleagues are doing everything we can to push through positive legislation.

What the Democratic Party has stood for during this Congress can be summarized in the famous words spoken by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at a time when America was still fighting its way out of the throes of the great depression. You know these words, but I hope you will bear with me while I recall them now. The President was discussing the differences between the Democratic, or liberal party, and the conservatives, and he said:

"One great difference which has characterized this division has been that the liberal party—no matter what its particular name was at the time—believed in the wisdom and the efficacy of the will of the great majority of the people, as distinguished from the judgment of a small minority. * * * The other great difference between the two parties has been this: The liberal party is a party which believes that, as new conditions and problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the Government itself to find new remedies with which to meet them. The liberal party insists that the Government has the definite duty to use all its power and resources to meet new social problems with new social controls—to insure to the average person the right to his own economic and political life, liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness."

Salary Increases for Postal and Other Federal Employees

SPEECH
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 15, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9883) to adjust the rates of basic compensation for certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I add my voice to those who have spoken in support of H.R. 9883, which would bring a long needed and necessary pay increase to postal and other Federal employees.

I also take this occasion to commend most sincerely the sponsor of this bill, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. MORRISON], and those members of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for their effective work in achieving a breakthrough in a most important area of legislation.

As a cosponsor of the Morrison proposal and as a signer of the discharge petition, I join those who point out that a reasonable increase of 9 percent is preferable to that of 7½ percent. However, although the facts are not on the side of the administration, I certainly realize that the original increase of 9 percent would without doubt incur a Presidential veto.

Additionally, I realize that the amendment calling for a 7½-percent increase should make the bill less vulnerable to a Presidential veto. This amendment has been offered in good faith by reasonable men so that such Presidential action may be stayed, and that the issue may be clarified should a veto unhappily occur.

It may well be that the administration will not assume its responsibility in approving the amended bill. I do not think this possibility should deter us from approval of the bill. Our responsibility is to act affirmatively since we must not lose sight of the fact that the provisions of H.R. 9883 are needed and needed now.

It would be "carrying coals to Newcastle" to repeat the extensive documentation, made in committee and on this floor during discussion of the sum and substance of the issue, on the practical need to improve the wage standard of our postal and other Federal employees, and the economic feasibility of doing it at this time.

I not only urge passage of this bill, but I urge that it pass so overwhelmingly—in both Houses—that a Presidential veto, if still forthcoming—can be readily overridden, as it should be.

Mr. Chairman, I would hope that the President would like to see the employees of the U.S. Government on a wage level in line with that prevailing in private industry. I would also hope that he join with the supporters of the increase in realizing that the wage structure of our Federal Government is closely related to the maintenance and attraction of competent personnel. This is sound budget thinking.

Our duty in Congress is clear. Let the record show that the duty of the administration is also clear.

Portsmouth Naval Shipyard New Control System Under Attack by Technicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 17, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the Department of the Navy, by a directive issued last October which is now being implemented, proposed a basic reorgani-